

Party, I was told that resignation from the Communist Party, but continuing to function as a Communist, was the correct procedure.

Q. You mentioned that you worked for Communist Party bookshops. How long did you work in bookshops for the Communist Party during your membership? A. Over a period of 1948 and 1949, ten months of full time employment, and approximately six months of part-time employment.

Q. Will you tell us where you worked and at just what times? A. In June of 1948 I worked at the Jefferson School bookshop, the Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Sixth Avenue, New York City. In July and August and part of the month of September I worked at their summer camp, Camp Sherwood, Monticello, New York. In the 13057 period from September 1948 through approximately March of 1949 I worked at the Jefferson School Bookshop on Sunday evenings, where I kept the bookshop open in conjunction with a lecture series that was held at the school. In May over the Memorial Day week-end in 1949 I worked for the Jefferson School Bookshop at their camp, that year Camp Arrowhead at Ellinville, New York.

The third week in June 1949 I went to work at Camp Unity, and I worked as manager of the bookshop there from that week in June until the first week in September 1949. From the second week in September 1949 until approximately the first week in December 1949 I worked at the Workers Bookshop in New York City.

Q. Will you tell us what connection the Workers Bookshop had with the Communist Party, if any? A. It was part of the Wholesale Book Corporation and Communist Party literature distribution center, part of the New York State literature department of the Communist Party.

Q. What was the principal function of these bookshops? A. To sell Communist Party literature, Marxist-Leninist literature.

Q. Did you attend any Communist Party schools? A. Yes, I did.

13058 Q. What schools did you attend? A. I attended new members classes of the Communist Party in the Joe York Youth Club of the Communist Party in the Bronx. I attended leadership classes given by the Tompkins Square Youth Section of the Communist Party. That was in 1948 and '49, running from about December 1948 through March 1949. I attended the Jefferson School of Social Science and studied Marxism I on Science and Society, for a period of ten weeks in the spring of 1948. In the fall of 1948, starting in October and running for 40 weeks, I received a scholarship for the Institute of Marxist Studies at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Q. Regarding your course in Science and Society, how often did that class or course meet? A. For ten weeks, one and a half hours a week.

Q. I will ask you the same question about the course at the Institute of Marxist Studies. A. That ran for 40 weeks, three hours a week.

Q. What courses did you study specifically in the Institute of Marxist Studies? A. Marxism II, which was Political Economy, Marxism and Labor, Capitalism and the Class Struggle, Imperialism, What Is Philosophy, The Negro Question. There were three courses, but I wouldn't venture to go to my memory to give you the exact titles of those three courses.

13060 Q. Mr. Matusow, I would like to show you Government's Exhibit No. 121 in evidence which is the book "Foundations of Leninism," by Joseph Stalin, and ask you if you are familiar with this book. A. I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with that book? A. When I was an employee of the Jefferson School and the Workers Bookshop in my capacity as State Literature Director of the Labor Youth League and in relation to educational and reading material for educational programs in the various

Communist Party clubs that I was a member of. Also, it was used as part of the selected reading for some of the courses in the Institute of Marxist studies at the Jefferson School.

13061 Q. Now I show you Government Exhibit No. 138 in evidence, which is the book "Problems of Leninism," by Joseph Stalin; and ask you if you are familiar with that book. A. I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with that book? A. Again it was used as part of the selected reading in the courses in the Institute of Marxist studies at the Jefferson School. It was also sold—I sold it at the bookshops at the Jefferson School and Workers Bookshop. I also distributed this book when I was state literature director of the Labor Youth League and used it in relation to selected readings for study in the Communist Party Youth Clubs of which I was a member.

Q. I show you Government Exhibit No. 139 in evidence, which is the book "State and Revolution" by V. I. Lenin. Are you familiar with that book? A. I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with that book? A. Again in relation to my work at the Jefferson School and Workers Bookshops. I sold the book. In connection with the Institute of Marxist Studies at the Jefferson School for selected readings and the Communist Party study groups in the Communist Party Clubs that I was a member of.

Q. I show you Government Exhibit No. 149 in evidence, "The United Front," by Georgi Dimitrov, and ask you if you are familiar with that book. A. I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with that book? A. It was used as a text in the course Marxism and Labor, a part of the Institute of Marxist studies at the Jefferson School. It was also used and sold in the Workers and Jefferson School Bookshops, and used for reading material in specific study work in relation to industrial concentration in the Communist Party Clubs that I was a member of.

Q. I show you Government Exhibit No. 140, which is the book, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," by V. I. Lenin, and ask you if you are familiar with that book. A. I am. There again the book was sold and used in the Jefferson School and Workers Bookshops. It was used in the courses at the Institute of Marxist Studies, in the Communist Party Youth Clubs of which I was a member, and we distributed this book through the State Literature Department of the Labor Youth League.

Q. Are you familiar with the book, "Strategy and Tactics of the Proletarian Revolution"? A. I am.

Q. Will you tell us how you became familiar with 13063 that book? A. I first became familiar with the book when I was employed at the Jefferson School Bookshop in 1948. I sold the book at the Jefferson School Bookshop, at the workers bookshop. I distributed the book in the literature department of the Labor Youth League in New York State, and used "State and Revolution" as part of the text in the new members' classes of the Communist Party at the Ray Friedlander Youth Club.

Q. Are you familiar with the book "Mastering Bolshevism," by Joseph Stalin? A. Yes, I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with that book? A. "Mastering Bolshevism" was used as a text in the new members' classes at the Ray Friedlander Youth Club, of the Communist Party in 1949. We also sold the book at the Jefferson School and Workers Bookshops, and distributed the book through the state literature department of the Labor Youth League.

Q. I show you Government's Exhibit No. 330, which is the book, "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," and ask you if you are familiar with that book. A. I am.

Q. How did you become familiar with it? A. It was used as a basic text for new members' classes in the 13064 Communist Party, and part of the book was used for selected readings in some of the courses in the Institute of Marxist Studies. It was also distributed by

the state literature department of the Labor Youth League and by the workers and Jefferson School Bookshops when I was employed there.

Q. Do you know of the Zhdanov report on "The International Situation" given at the conference of a number of Communist Parties in Poland in 1947? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Will you tell us where you first became familiar with the Zhdanov report? A. I first became familiar with the Zhdanov report at the Jefferson School Bookshop where we sold the Zhdanov report.

Q. Can you tell us what you know about the Zhdanov report?

THE WITNESS: It was used in a number of courses again in the Institute of Marxist Studies. The first copy 13065 of the report that I saw was one that was printed by Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow. It had been obtained through the Four Continents Bookshop. The Wholesale Book Corporation had obtained it there. It was then out of print for a few weeks, and the Jefferson School reproduced the Zhdanov report in mimeograph form and used it as a basic text in a number of their courses.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Was this report used in any discussions, in any clubs at which you were present? A. Yes, it was. It was used in relation to the study outline on the question of China. I forget the exact title of the study outline. It was put out by the Communist Party of New York State Educational Committee. The general idea was new people's democracy in China and the war dangers facing it through American imperialism. That was the general context of it. It was mainly dealing with the role of the American Communist Party in relation to establishing recognition of Communist China. The Zhdanov report was one of the selected readings in that.

Q. Do you recall when you had the last contact with the various books and reports that you have just described here?

A. Yes. It was in December 1950. I was in New York. I had just returned from New Mexico. I went up to the 13066 Jefferson School Bookshop to make arrangements with the manager, one Sid Ballinger to have him send certain Communist Party literature to me. I was planning on going back to New Mexico. While there we discussed a number of publications, that is the question of the Little Lenin Library, of which this is a part, still in stock there. I was trying to make arrangements to get a number of each of those and some of the basic texts such as history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The books were still carried in stock there, and while I was there we discussed and referred to them as well as others.

(Document produced and marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit 419.)

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you what is marked Government's Exhibit No. 419 for identification, which purports to be a bibliography of the Jefferson School of Social Science for the course Marxism V, The Struggle for Socialism, and I ask you if you have seen that document before. A. Yes, I have.

Q. Where did you see it? A. This was a study outline which was given me when I was taking the course, Struggle for Socialism, Marxism V, a part of the Institute of Marxist Studies. We used this outline as our basis for study, that is, the reading materials to be used in the course.

13067 MR. SHEEHAN: Mr. Chairman, we wish to offer at this time this document as Petitioner's Exhibit No. 419 in evidence.

MISS McHALE: Is this dated?

THE WITNESS: This was used over a number of years. It was used in 1949. "It might have been used later."

By MR. SHEEHAN:

13068 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you what has been marked for identification as Petitioner's Exhibit No.

420, which purports to be a bibliography of the Jefferson School of Social Science for the course Marxism and Labor, and ask you if you have seen that before. A. I have.

Q. Where did you first see that? A. It was a study outline given to me for the course, Marxism and Labor, in the series of Marxist studies over the years 1948 and 1949.

13069 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you what is marked as Petitioner's Exhibit for identification No. 421, an article from Political Affairs of July 1950, entitled "For a United-Front Policy Among the Jewish People—Sharpen the Struggle Against Bourgeois Nationalism," beginning on page 55 and running through page 70. I want to call your attention to page 58, the right-hand column, beginning with section (b) at the end of that column, continuing through to page 61, the portion beginning with the heading "The Struggle Against Bourgeois Nationalism." I ask you if you have ever read that. A. Yes, I have.

Q. Will you tell us where and when you have had occasion to read that? A. In July of 1950 in New York City we discussed this at a meeting of the West Side Club of the Labor Youth League.

Q. Do you know who Ilya Ehrenburg is? A. He is a Soviet author, novelist and writer.

Q. Can you tell us anything more about him? A. I have sold a number of his books and articles and read them, one Novel called "The Storm." I read a speech of his that was delivered before an international gathering, a cultural gathering in Warsaw, Poland, in 1949.

13073 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you what has been marked for identification as Petitioner's Exhibit No. 422, the book "The Theory of the Proletarian Revolution" published by International Publishers, and ask you if you have ever seen that book before? A. I have.

Q. Will you tell us where you saw that book? A. I saw this book at the Workers and Jefferson School Bookshops where it was sold. It was also sold through the state literature department of the Labor Youth League and used as a basic text for study in the new members' classes conducted in the Ray Friedlander Club of the Communist Party.

13079 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you what has been marked for identification as Petitioner's Exhibit No. 423 the book, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," published by International Publishers, and ask you if you have ever seen that book before. A. I have.

Q. Where did you see that book? A. At the Workers Bookshop and the Jefferson School Bookshop. It was sold there. It was sold also and distributed by the State Literature Department of the Labor Youth League. It was also used as a basic text and reading for new members and leadership classes in the various Youth club of the Communist Party to which I belonged.

13088 Q. I believe you testified before the recess that you had instructions to arrange for the trip of the Communist Party delegate to the World Youth Festival in Budapest. Can you tell us what arrangements, if any, you made for this trip. A. Yes. When we got—that is, when Ted Bassett and I got to Puerto Rico, we conferred with Juan Santo Rivera, the Chairman of the Party there, and Caesar Andreau, A-n-d-r-e-a-u, the general secretary of the Communist Party. On the basis of that we selected Eugene Cuebues Arbona, the head of the Communist Party Youth Movement in Puerto Rico, as a delegate to go to the Budapest World Youth Festival meeting. I had instructions to give Mr. Ceubues, which I did, which were that he was to apply for his passport to go to Europe and in his application state that he was going to France, Italy, and England as a tourist. I also had instructions to pick up before I left

Puerto Rico the biographical information necessary for a Hungarian visa. I received from Cuebues photographs, his date of birth, signature, and other material that was necessary. I was instructed to and complied with the instructions to bring that material back to New York. I did turn them over to a Lou Diskin, the Chairman of the Communist Party Youth Movement in New York State, and Mr. Diskin and myself brought the information down to the office of the American Youth for a Free World at 144 Bleeker Street. While in Puerto Rico I was also instructed to tell Mr. Cuebues when he arrived in Paris, France, he was to go to the office of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and there he was to pick up his visa to Hungary.

Q. Were you told why your instructions were to tell him in his application to state that he was going to France, England, Italy, and not to Hungary where he actually intended to go?

THE WITNESS: I was told that the reason for his application stating that he was going to France, England, et cetera, was because the State Department had a ban on issuing passports to Hungary, and that the only way he could get there would be by applying for the passport to a western European country.

13090 By Mr. SHEEHAN:

Q. Did you again see this Mr. Cuebues after you left Puerto Rico? A. I did.

Q. When and where did you see him again? A. I met Mr. Cuebues two days after he returned from Budapest, Hungary, in New York City, and there conducted him on a tour of the Communist Party Youth clubs in New York City, where he lectured.

Q. Did you have any conversations with him at this time? A. Yes, I did. He told me that he had complied with the

instructions that I had given him about picking up a visa in Paris, and he said he had been to Hungary.

13092 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you Petitioner's Exhibit No. 374 in evidence, which is the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States, and I ask you if you have seen that document before. A. I have.

13093 Q. Where did you see this constitution? A. I saw this constitution distributed at the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party, as well as Communist Party New York County Headquarters, New York City.

Q. Have you read it? A. Yes, I have.

Q. Did you discuss it in any of your classes in the Party?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. I would like to direct your attention to the first sentence of the preamble of the constitution on page 3, which reads: "The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." Were you given any explanation of this sentence in your discussions in your classes on the constitution?

Q. You may specify the time and place and the circumstances. A. The discussion of the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States was made at the Ray Friedlander Club of the Communist Party in Sunday afternoon classes held at the home of Mr. Ira Wallach, also known as Ted Tinsley. His wife, Mrs. Wallach, was conducting a class in leadership for members of the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party. I could not give you now the exact date. It was in that period of weeks of late 1948 or early 1949. For a period of weeks we had Sunday afternoon classes at that home on 14th Street.

In one of the first classes the question of the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States was raised, and it was discussed. The question of "Principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism" were interpreted at these classes by the instructor, Mrs. Wallach, and through the discussion, as meaning the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of socialism in the United States.

Q. Was it explained just how the dictatorship of the proletariat would be brought about? A. How the dictatorship of the proletariat would be brought about would be socialism through evolution or revolution.

Q. I would like to direct your attention to the first sentence of the second paragraph of the preamble, which reads: "The Communist Party upholds achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties."

On the basis of your study and your classes in which the Constitution was discussed, in your opinion can the two sentences that I have pointed out be reconciled?

13096 THE WITNESS: I started by saying that the class was set up by the New York County Educational Department of the Communist Party. It was an official class of the County Educational Department. On the 13097 question of the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, the question of tolerance to minority groups in the society, the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was very strongly emphasized in the class that we will not and can not maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and tolerate any minority group, any opposition to our dictatorship as a proletariat. On the basis of Mr. Sheehan's question, the question of reconciling the two paragraphs could not be gotten because the Constitution and the Bill of Rights do uphold the recognition of minority groups.

As we were taught in the first paragraph, there was no tolerance or recognizing of minority groups under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

13098 Q. As a result of your membership in the Communist Party and your attendance at Party Schools and meetings, what was your understanding of the aims and objectives of the Communist Party of the United States.

A. That we will defend the interests, the quote that was used this morning, of the American working class and in terms of event of a show down, as it was put in the class, of a war with the Soviet Union, we would not support the American imperialists, unquote; and on the question of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States it would be gotten through the means of revolution because they state, quote, the ruling class will not give up its power, unquote, and therefore we must use violent means.

Q. During the time of your membership in the Party did you hear from any spokesman for the Party or did you read in any literature of the Communist Party that there was ever any change in the ultimate aims and objectives of the Part as you stated them?

13099 THE WITNESS: No, there was never anything that I read showing changes in the aims of the Communist Party, in the time I was in the Party.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Did you ever hear any leaders of the Communist Party criticize any foreign or domestic policies of the Soviet Union?

THE WITNESS: I did not.

Q. Did you ever hear any leaders of the Party praise or approve the domestic or foreign policies of the United States? A. In context I would like to qualify the question, Mr. Sheehan.

Q. You may answer the question and explain your answer. A. In the question when the United States and the Soviet Union agreed, I have heard certain Party officials praise or recognize that the United States took a good position, but on a question where the United States and the Soviet Union disagreed on a certain question I have never seen the Communist Party come to the defense of the United States Government as opposed to that of the Soviet Union.

13100 MR. ABT: May we have the time and place of all these discussions and who said what, Mr. Chairman?

MR. BROWN: I believe the witness testified over his entire period of membership.

MR. ABT: That is my point, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MARCANTONIO: We are entitled to know when and where and who said it.

MR. BROWN: If you remember, and the circumstances when what you just testified to was said.

THE WITNESS: I didn't say that was stated. I think the question was "when you were a member of the Communist Party from October 1947 to January 19, 1951, did any leader of the Communist Party to your knowledge criticize the Soviet Union on their internal or domestic policy?" and the answer was no. I think you heard the other question.

Specific examples can be given. In the summer of 1948 when I was working for the Jefferson School at their summer camp we had a discussion given by Dave Goldway, the director of the Jefferson School, on the question of Yugoslavia and Tito. It was early in the summer. The discussion said that we agree with Tito, we agree with Yugoslavia and all the things they are trying to do. A few weeks later the news was published in the Cominform Bulletin, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, that Marshal Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party had been expelled.

by the Cominform. The same Mr. Dave Goldway
 13101 lectured at the Jefferson School Camp taking the
 reverse position, though it had been only a mat-
 ter of a few weeks and he only read about it in the Comin-
 form journal, according to his own admission to me at the
 camp.

13102 MISS McHALE: From your profile of activities I
 got the impression that you were very active over
 that period in either operating bookshops or the sales of
 their products. Did you ever have anyone say to
 13103 you, "Oh, I am not going to buy that. It is 30 years
 old. It is stale stuff"?

THE WITNESS: No, I never did.

MISS McHALE: They just accepted it as something that
 they should have because it appeared in the bibliographies?

THE WITNESS: That is correct.

MISS McHALE: Was there a lot of sales talk in promoting
 those periodicals?

THE WITNESS: I may give an example for you. In 1948 a
 great to-do was made about the fact that the Communist
 Manifesto was 100 years old, but it is just as important
 today and lives on. It is just as relevant today as it was
 in 1848 when it was written. That is just one example of
 the other pieces of Marxist literature. In "The Young Gen-
 eration," by Lenin, a publication which was dated 1905,
 there is a chapter called "Organizing the Youth," which was
 used quite extensively in the Labor Youth League in 1949
 and recommended setting up certain basic principles for
 youth organizations.

13110 CROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

13144 Q. You testified that in this discussion, this Octo-
 ber meeting, late in October, the discussion centered

around an article in the September issue of Political Affairs, isn't that right? A. Correct.

Q. You said it was said there at this meeting that it was the policy of the Communist Party not to support the United States in an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. A. Correct.

13229 Daniel Scarletto called as a witness for Petitioner, having been first duly-sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. BROWN: Please be seated.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. STORY:

13241 Q. Mr. Scarletto, how long did you continue in the Communist Party underground after you were assigned to that organization?

13242 THE WITNESS: I continued in the Communist underground until the moment I took the stand in Los Angeles, California. I took the stand on Friday. I was contacted on Wednesday night by my underground contacts.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, in addition to these classes that you attended at the beginning of your membership in the Communist Party did you attend any other Communist Party schools or classes at any time during your membership? A. Yes, I have.

Q. What schools have you attended? A. After the beginners classes when I was in the club, I then went in the summer, about August of 1948, I think it was, I got a letter that I was to attend the leadership school which was three classes out on Western Avenue in Los Angeles.

Q. Did you attend this school? A. Yes, I did.

13243 Q. How long did the school last? A. It was only a three-day, three evenings in the whole course.

Q. How long were the sessions? A. The sessions were from 7 to 10 o'clock, three hours apiece, and it was for three nights.

Q. After this school did you attend any other schools conducted by the Communist Party? A. Yes. In the summer of 1949 we had two classes for the regional leadership. One was held on Hayes Avenue, Highland Park, and the other one was held on Grenada Avenue, Highland Park.

Q. How long did this school continue? A. It was for two Saturdays. They lasted six hours apiece.

Q. Do you recall any of the textbooks or materials that you used at these schools? A. They had instructors there who came in with written up forms, and they read from their forms.

Q. Were you assigned any reading material during this course? A. Yes. Before we went to the first class we were assigned some reading material, and then after the second class we were assigned some by the instructor. We were told some books to study for the first class, and then while we were there we were given some more names of books 13244 to study for the next class.

Q. Do you recall the names of any of these books?

A. No, I can't recall them offhand, it has been so long ago.

Q. Did you attend any other Communist Party schools after the two schools you have just mentioned? A. Yes. I attended the Marxist Institute in Los Angeles.

Q. When did you first receive notice that you were to attend the Marxist Institute? A. It was around December of 1949 that I received notice through the club chairman that I was to attend this Marxist Institute.

Q. Who was the club chairman at that time? A. Gertrude Stoughton.

Q. Please tell the Panel what Gertrude Stoughton told you concerning the Marxist Institute that you were to attend.

MR. FORER: I object. It is hearsay.

MR. BROWN: Overruled.

THE WITNESS: She told me that I had been selected to go to this school, which would last one year, and it had a \$20 fee which we would pay, \$5 of it, quarterly. She said it should start around November, and she wanted to know—she said I had been selected and I had to go.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Did she tell you how long this school would continue?

A. She said it would continue for one year.

13245 Q. Was this a full time course, Mr. Scarletto? A. No. We went one night a week.

Q. How long were the sessions? A. They would average about four hours.

Q. After you received these instructions did you enroll in the Marxist Institute? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you register in the school under your own name? A. Oh, no. They just put down our first initial. That is all they used on our applications.

Q. Approximately when did you attend your first session in the Marxist Institute? A. It was in November of 1949.

Q. Approximately how many students were present in your class? A. There were 18 students present.

Q. After you started in this school were any security measures taken to protect the identity of the students attending this school?

THE WITNESS: Yes. The first security measure that was taken we were all given numbers and not names. We were told, "If you know any of these people before you
13246 started this class, never to call them by their first name or last name during this course."

MR. BROWN: Do you remember the persons who were present?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. BROWN: And where this conversation took place?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. BROWN: And what time?

THE WITNESS: Yes. In the latter part of November when we first started the classes, the instructor was Gunther Michel, and there were only two people at that time I had been acquainted with before the classes started. One was Arthur Schaffer and the other was Silvia Freeman and her husband.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Was it Michel who asked you not to address anyone by his first name? A. Yes. He was the instructor.

Q. After these instructions were given by Gunther Michel, were you given a number? A. Yes, I was.

Q. What number were you given? A. I was No. 13.

Q. Do you recall the names of any of the textbooks that were used in connection with this school? A. Yes, I recall a few. One was the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. One was State and Revolution, and Imperialism by Marx. The Communist Manifesto. That is all I can remember offhand, right now.

Q. Where did you obtain these books which you used in the Marxist Institute? A. They have a bookstore out Seventh Street out on Seventh Street. First they had the books at the Institute. Then after a couple of months we had to go out to the bookshop to pick them up.

Q. Were you given these books or did you have to buy them? A. No, we had to pay for every one we got.

Q. Were you given any other material in connection with the Marxist Institute? A. Oh, yes. They gave us our outlines.

MR. STORY: Mr. Clark, will you mark this document Petitioner's Exhibit 424.

(Document produced and marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit No. 424.)

13248

By MR. STORY:

Q. Mr. Scarletto, I hand you a document and ask you if you can identify this document. A. Yes. This is a copy of the first outline of the Marxist Institute, the first quarter.

Q. When did you receive a copy of this outline, Mr. Scarletto? A. At the first class we had in the Marxist Institute.

Q. Were you given other outlines in addition to this one while you were connected with the Marxist Institute? A. Yes, I was.

13255 Q. Mr. Scarletto, I hand you a document which has been marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit 425, and ask you if you can identify that document. A. Yes, I can.

Q. What is that document? A. This was one of our study outlines on Imperialism.

Q. When, during the course of time you attended the Marxist Institute, did you receive that outline? A. I received this one here—after we had completed this study outline on Marxism-Leninism, we received Imperialism.

Q. Was that outline used during the course of instruction at the Marxist Institute? A. Yes, it was.

13256 Q. Mr. Scarletto, I refer you to page 4 of session 1 of Government Exhibit for identification 425, and at the top of the page, page 4, where it says "Required reading." While you attended the Marxist Institute as a student did you read the material which is listed in this outline under the heading "Required reading" and "Supplemental reading"?

MR. ABT: What page is that you are referring to?

MR. STORY: Page 4 of session 1.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Would you look through the outline which is government's exhibit for identification 425 and tell the Panel

whether or not it was required for the students attending this Marxist Institute to read the assignments in the outline under the heading "Required reading"? A. Sometimes there were a couple, some of the books that we didn't have to bother with, but he always told us which ones he wanted us to get in the outline at the schools.

Q. I see. Did that pertain to all the sessions or just to session 1 which you are looking at here? A. It seems as though throughout the whole study there were certain books that were not necessary for us to have. He would just tell us which ones to get.

13257 Q. Mr. Scarletto, did you complete the full course that you were told that you were to take when you started at the Marxist Institute? A. No, we didn't.

13258 Q. How long did you continue in the Marxist Institute? A. We continued to the spring of '50, until shortly after the Korean War started.

Q. What happened to the Marxist Institute after the Korean war started? A. When the Korean war started, we moved it and had a couple of meetings, and then it was cancelled and we were told by the instructor that we were cancelling it for security reasons and that we would be notified when it would start up again.

Q. Were you ever notified that the institute would start up again? A. Yes, I was.

Q. Tell the Panel what happened. A. I received instructions from the section organizer of the 45th AD, Mim Schaffer, that I was to go to the home of Ada Dobbs on a certain date, at a certain time there—The following week it was—and that she would instruct me where to go to continue my Marxist Institute.

Q. Did you go to the home of Ada Dobbs? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What information did you receive there? A. She told me she couldn't give me any information on where to go, but I would have to wait there and that a man would come who knew where it was and would go with me.

13259 Q. Mr. Scarletto, where had the Marxist Institute

classes been held prior to this time? A. They were held at a hall, some classrooms they had over there at the Jewish Cultural Center in the City Terrace.

MR. ABT: What is that?

THE WITNESS: At the Jewish Cultural Center in City Terrace.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Did this man ever come to Ada Dobbs' house? A. Yes, he did. His name was Lym, L-y-m.

Q. What took place after Lym arrived at Ada Dobbs' house? A. She introduced me to Lym. I had never met him before. And said that he would be our instructor. He told me to follow him in my automobile and he would take me over to the home. He said we are having it in a private home for security reasons. To park my car a couple 13260 of blocks away from the house. As he went by he pointed to the house and drove on, and so did I, and I walked back and met him there.

Q. Mr. Scarlette, were you told by your instructor or any of your superiors why the Marxist Institute was being discontinued?

13261 THE WITNESS: I will answer the question, yes.

It was for security reasons, and we were told that the Korean war was getting pretty hot and that they thought they would call it off.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Who told you that, Mr. Scarlette? A. The section organizer told me that.

Q. What was the name? A. Mim Schaffer.

13262 Q. When did she tell you that? A. That was in the late summer of 1950.

Q. The later summer of 1950. A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, did you attend any Communist Party conventions at any time during your membership in the Party? A. Yes, I attended one convention.

Q. Where and when did you attend this convention, and what was the convention? A. In 1948, in July, I attended a convention—it was a sectional convention—and it was in Los Angeles on Echo Park, the name of the Street, at the Echo Park Women's Club.

Q. Do you remember when in 1948 you attended this convention? A. I think it was in June.

Q. Did you attend this convention as a delegate? A. Yes. I was voted as a delegate from my club to go to this 13263 convention.

Q. About how many delegates attended this convention? A. There were about 60 of them there.

Q. How were you selected as a delegate for this convention? A. I was selected and voted by the club to go.

Q. At the time you were selected as a delegate for this convention, were you told where the convention was to be held? A. No, I wasn't told where the convention was to be held, but I was told the day it was to be held.

Q. How did you find out where the convention was to be held? A. I had to go to the home of the section organizer. She gave me the address on El Sereno Avenue and told me to go there Saturday morning about a quarter of eight and pick up a load of delegates in my car, and that there would be one member there that would know where the convention was to take place. She also told me to bring my lunch.

Q. Who was the section organizer who gave you these instructions? A. Mim Schaffer.

Q. Did you go to the address she had given you on the date that she told you to be there? A. Yes, I was there right on time when I was supposed to be.

13264 } Q. What took place after you arrived at this address? A. The people were there that I was to pick up. They were all there, and Jim Forest was there, and he told me he was the one who knew where the convention was to take place. We all got in my car.

Q. What took place after you got into your car? A. He told me to drive to Echo Park and I drove there, and he showed me where it would be but he said, "Don't stop here. Keep on going." He had me drive a couple of blocks down the street and we stopped and let the women out of the car, which left only him and me. Then he had me turn left and park down a side street. He said, "Be careful never to park near a building where there is a meeting going on."

Q. What type of building was this convention held in? A. It was a one-story wooden building there, about the size of this room.

Q. What was the building called? A. The Echo Park Women's Club was the name of the building. That is the only name they had on the front of it.

Q. After you and Jim Forest had parked the car, tell the Panel what happened next. A. He and I walked back to the building, and as we stepped in the door we had to be identified by a Panel. We had to state our club, our position in the club, and our name. That was all recorded. Then they had a master-at-arms which when the Panel gave 1265 him the nod, he allowed us in.

Q. How long did this convention last, Mr. Scarlato? A. Counting our half-hour lunch period—we weren't allowed to leave the building for lunch—we were in there for approximately 8½ hours.

Q. Did any of the delegates attempt to leave the building during this convention? A. No one was allowed to leave the building during the convention. They had those instructions before they came in.

Q. What took place at this convention? A. All the delegates of different clubs had something to say about the work they were doing in the clubs. It so happened that the delegate who was from the same club that I knew, talked from our club. I didn't do any speaking that day.

Q. What happened when the convention was over at the end of the day? A. When the convention was over we were instructed to leave in intervals of five or six people, and the master-at-arms would let five or six people out at a time.

Then we would close the door and wait a while and he would let a few more out.

Q. Did you leave with the same group that you brought to the convention? A. Yes.

13266 Q. After you had gathered the delegates into your car, what did you do then? A. I took them all home.

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman, I would like to move to strike all of this witness' testimony with reference to so-called secret practices engaged in at this convention on the grounds that I have urged previously, and that is that the secrecy which this witness claims was practiced at this convention is not secrecy of the character defined in and required by the act and therefore the witness' testimony on that question is entirely irrelevant and immaterial to any issue in this proceeding.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Mr. Scarletto, was the organizational structure of your Communist Party club changed at any time? A. If the Mexican Concentration Club? It was changed, yes.

Q. How was it changed? A. At a chairman's meeting in the spring of 1949 we had orders from our section organizer, Mim Schaffer, to break our club, which had gained a few members. We had orders to split it in two and make two groups out of it.

Q. About how many members did you have in the Mexican Concentration Club at that time? A. There were 15 members, but there were always a couple of them who couldn't make the meetings regularly. We had 13267 15 members.

Q. After you received these instructions from Mim Schaffer was the Mexican Concentration Club broken down into two groups? A. Oh, yes, we split it in two.

Q. Did you hold any position in either of the groups after it was broken down? A. I was still Org. Sec. for both groups.

Q. Did Mim Schaffer tell you the reason for this breakdown? A. Yes.

Q. What did she tell you? A. She said it was for security reasons, and she also said, she told the chairman of the meeting for the Org. Sec. not ever to collect any dues in the presence of other members, that it would all be done in private. Take a member into the next room then to collect any dues or sustainers from them, so the other members wouldn't know what another member's standing is in the club as far as dues were concerned. That I did.

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13268 Q. In connection with these dues that were to be collected in privacy, did you have any official functions or duties in connection with the collection of dues in the Mexican Concentration Club? A. That was one of the official duties of the organization secretary to handle the finances.

Q. And you were the organizational secretary after the breakdown? A. Yes. I used to go to both meetings at times.

Q. Tell the Panel just how you would collect the dues after these instructions from the section organizer. A. I would take a person, each individual, into the next room of whatever home we were holding the meeting in, and I would tell them how much they owed me and where they stood, and they would pay me in private. There were no receipts or anything.

13269 Q. Did you keep a record of the dues payments, Mr. Scarletto? A. I was not allowed to keep a record. I had to do it in my head. I had to know what every one owed me.

Q. After this reorganization or breakdown in the summer of 1949 did you have any further reorganization at any time during your membership? A. Will you ask that question again, please?

Q. After the reorganization of your club in the summer of 1949, did you have any further reorganization during your membership in the Mexican Concentration club? A. Yes.

Q. When did this reorganization take place? A. Towards the end of the year of 1949, late in the year.

Q. Tell the Panel what happened during this reorganization. A. We had a chairman's meeting, and we were instructed by Minn Schaffer, our section organizer. She said that the clubs had to be broken down again, reshuffled. We were to take these two groups which we had and split them again, which left us with, on the average, about four people to the group.

13270 Q. Were you told why this breakdown was to take place?

THE WITNESS: Yes, we were told that we were to have this breakdown so in case any one group was picked up, they would get only three or four people, which wouldn't prove too much.

By MR. STORY:

Q. How were these groups reorganized, Mr. Scarletto, when they were reorganized in the fall of 1949? A. We broke them down into small groups, which were four on the average, and we appointed someone as group leader for each of these small groups. Then the Chairman and I would go to a chairman's meeting and we would take notes on all that was to be done. Then we would have a group leader's meeting, and we would pass the information on to them so they could relay it to their smaller groups.

Q. After this reorganization in the latter part of 1949 did the entire Mexican Concentration Club meet in one group at any time? A. No, they continued on through 1950 in small groups.

Q. Where did these groups hold meetings after they were organized? A. Our instructions were to hold the meeting at a different place every week. We held them in automobiles, too, seeing that there would be only four people. We would hold meetings in automobiles. Then we would change
13271 around. We would use different houses at different times.

Q: At this meeting where you received instructions for the reorganization in late 1949 did you as an official of the Mexican Concentration Club receive any other instructions concerning the security of your groups? A. Yes.

Q: What instructions did you receive? A. We were supposed to change our names and use only nicknames from then on, which we did, and to use code, to make up our own code for telephone conversations.

Q. Would you tell the Panel what type of code you would use in connection with telephone conversations? A. We were all given nicknames, and but for one person we weren't supposed to know where the meeting was to be held, and then I would get a phone call, for instance, which would say, "Hello, Chips, come by and pick up that book tonight." And I would know just where the meeting was going to be by such a statement.

Q. During what period of time, Mr. Scarletto, was this system used? A. It was used from late 1949 through 1950.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, did you receive a Communist Party membership card or book in the year 1949? A. I received the constitution of the Party.

13272 Q. I mean a membership card. Did you receive a membership card? A. Oh, no, I never received a membership card for 1949.

Q. Were any membership cards issued for the year 1949? A. No, they were not.

Q. Were you as an official of the Mexican Concentration Club told why they wouldn't issue membership cards?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What were you told?

THE WITNESS: At a chairman's meeting at Mim Schaffer's house we received the orders that there would be no

more cards put out because if a person was ever searched and cards were found, it would prove embarrassing.

13273 THE WITNESS: That I would say was in the early part of 1949.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Who told you that, Mr. Scarletto? A. Mim Schaffer, our section organizer.

Q. You have testified, Mr. Scarletto, that you had a membership card for the year 1948. A. That is correct.

Q. What happened to that membership card? A. We were given orders to destroy our 1948 cards.

Q. Would you tell us who told you, when you were told, and where you were told? A. We were told that at the home of Mim Schaffer at the first of 1949, when we were told there would be no 1949 cards issued.

Q. Did you destroy your membership card? A. No.

Q. What did you do with it? A. It was turned in with reports to the FBI.

13274 Q. Mr. Scarletto, you have testified that you were assigned to the Communist Party underground in January 1951. Will you tell the Panel when you received the instructions for this assignment, who told you, and what you were told? A. I was told by my chairman, Gertrude Steughton, right around the first of 1951, that I was to get in contact—

Q. That was 1951, is that correct? A. Yes, right around the first of January 1951, yes.

—that I was to contact Arthur Schaffer, and that I did.

Q. When did you contact Art Schaffer? A. She told me on a Tuesday night, and on a Wednesday night I had to go over there, and I went over and caught him home about seven o'clock.

Q. Caught who home? A. Art Schaffer. At the time she said for me to be there.

Q. What happened after you went to the home of Art Schaffer? A. I knocked on the door, and he was home alone. He answered the door and said "Come on in." I went on in and he stepped outside and looked around first and then he locked the door from the inside.

Q. Did you have a conversation with Schaffer after he had locked the door? A. Yes; I did.

13275 Q. What did Schaffer say to you? A. He said, "You have been chosen to go into a new kind of work." He said, "From now on you will be severed from your club and you will be responsible only to the county."

Q. Only responsible to whom? A. The county.

Q. What did he mean, responsible to the county? A. That means the Party, the County functionaries.

Q. The county office of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What county is that? A. Los Angeles County.

Q. Did Schaffer give you any other instructions about that time? A. He said, "I am sorry I can't tell you what your duties will be, but I can only give you a couple of lines." He said that he was in the same kind of work and the other hint was that I would be running a machine. That was all that he could tell me, and that in a couple of weeks he asked what was the best time to catch me home at night and I said about six-thirty. He said, "Fine, within about two weeks there will be a Man contact you at your house." He said "You have never seen him before and he will say that he is a friend of Ernie's." He told me that being that we are not allowed to keep a
 13276 record of our members or dues standing, "I want you to make a list of all the members and their dues standing, and take it over to your club chairman and tell her that you will not be with the club. Turn these names and dues standings over to her and let her handle them from there."

Q. Did you take the dues standing and the names of the members of your club to the section organizer? A. No, to the chairman of the club, of the Mexican Concentration Club.

Q. What did you tell the chairman of the Mexican Concentration Club at that time? A. From Artie's house. I went straight over there, and she was home. I gave her the list. I made it up at Artie's house and took it over and told her that I was no longer in the club, that I had been severed by Arthur, and that here were the names and all the dues standings.

Q. Did Schaffer tell you what type of machine you would be running after you got into this new work? A. No, he didn't tell me whatsoever. He just said a machine.

Q. This man who was to contact you and tell you that he was a friend of Ernie—did you know anyone in the Communist Party by the name of Ernie? A. No, I didn't know at the time.

Q. What were you doing for a living during this period of time, Mr. Scarlett? A. I was working over at 13277 Lockheed at that time, Lockheed Aircraft.

Q. Working as what? A. As an aircraft sheet-metal man.

Q. At the time you had this conversation with Art Schaffer were you engaged in any other Communist Party activities as of that time? A. I was just engaged in my club duties as organization secretary.

Q. Were you engaged in any campaigns for the Communist Party? A. No, not at that time, not that I recall.

Q. After the conversation with Art Schaffer were you contacted by the man who he told you would contact you? A. Yes. It was more than two weeks, though. It was about two and one-half. The man came to my house at approximately 6:30 at night and knocked on the door, and when I answered he said, "I am a friend of Ernie's." I said, "Oh, yes, I have been expecting you."

Q. What took place after that? A. He said, "Where can we talk?" and I said, "We can go out in my car." We went out to my car parked at the curb and there we talked.

Q. What did he tell you after you got in your automobile? A. He said, he asked me, "How long have you been 13278 in the movement?" and I told him. He asked me

what schools I had attended. He asked me what club I was in, what was my position in the club and who was my section organizer.

Q: Did you give the man who identified himself as a friend of Ernie's all this information? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Were any arrangements made for further contact after this meeting? A. Yes. He told me that he would contact me again in two or three weeks, at the same time.

Q. Did he at this first meeting tell you anything about the type of work you would be doing? A. Yes, he said something about I would be running a No. 40 printing press.

Q. Did he tell you where this printing press was located? A. No.

Q. Did he tell you anything further about what you were to accomplish with the printing press or what your duties would be? A. Yes. He said that we were going to set up a printing press and that it was to be used to move masses of people in time of crisis.

Q. After this first contact with this man who identified himself as a friend of Ernie's, were you later contacted by the same man? A. Yes. He came back in about, I 13279 say, February, about the middle of February. He came back again.

Q. What year, Mr. Scarletto? A. 1951.

Q. What took place at this second meeting? A. He knocked on the door and he said, "Can we go out to the car and talk?" and I said, "Oh, yes." So we went back out to the car. He said, "Say, can you operate a typewriter?" I said, "No, I have never used a typewriter." He said, "Well, that is all right." He told me that the following Saturday he wanted me to meet him in Downey, California on the corner of Firestone and Lakewood Boulevard. That is about 30 miles from my home.

Q. Did you meet this contact or this man in Downey, California? A. Yes. On Saturday morning I drove my car down and parked it in a parking lot, and I walked down to the corner where I was to meet him at nine o'clock.

Q. Approximately what date was this that you met this contact? A. I would say it was in the middle of February of 1951.

Q. What took place after you arrived at Downey, California? A. As I walked down to the corner, to my surprise I ran into an old friend of mine from the Marxist Institute, Irving Ritkes. I was surprised to see any one else there besides the man I was to meet, and I said, "What are you doing here?" and he smiled and said, "The same thing you are." We both waited until our contact came there.

Q. What happened after the contact arrived? A. He drove up in his automobile and he said, "You two fellows get your cars and follow me," and that we did. We followed him over to the next town, which is named Norwalk.

Q. What happened after you arrived at Norwalk, California? A. He circled around the neighborhood there off the main highway, and he pulled up on a side road at the home which I later learned was Dick Morton's, pulled up there and parked his car.

Q. What happened after you got out of the car? A. He introduced me to Dick, and he said, "Dick, you and Irving and Danny will be working together."

Q. When you say he introduced you, who are you talking about? A. This man who said he was a friend of Ernie's. I didn't know his name until they called him by the name of Kinney. He answered to the name of Kinney, by Ritkes and Dick.

Q. Did you know this man by any other name other than Kinney? A. No, I didn't, not until that time, until he was identified. I got his license number and later identified him by a picture at the FBI.

Q. After you were introduced to Dick Morton, what took place then? A. We all went out to the garage, which was closed up and we went in the side door. The big double door was down and locked. We went in the little side door. There all four of us unpacked and set up this printing press.

Q. Name the four people who were uncrating the printing press. A. Irving Ritkes, Dick Morton, and this Kinney, and myself.

Q. When you say uncrating this printing press, was it a new or used printing press? A. It was a new printing press, still in the crate,

Q. Do you know the type of printing press that was? A. I think it was a Chandler & Price, if I am not mistaken. It was a hand-operated printing press.

Q. After you had uncrated the printing press, what took place? A. We set it up to see if it would work all right.

Q. Did the machine work all right? A. Yes, it worked.

Q. After you had ascertained that this machine worked all right, did anything else happen during the day 13282 that you were there? A. After we got the machine to working we didn't run off any prints because we didn't have the proper ink. We just made sure the mechanism was all right, and Dick Morton and Irving Ritkes stated that they were both expert printers and were both employed in the printing industry. Then Kinney said that those two men were to teach me how to operate the machine and that I would take instructions on whatever date we would set up. That is what he told us.

Q. Did you receive any instructions that first day that you were out there, out at Dick Morton's garage? A. Yes. He showed me some of the working operations of the machine and told me how to care for the rollers. He told me never to lay the rolls down because they might get a flat side on them. It was the general operation of the machine that day.

Q. Did the three other men remain in the garage with you all the time that you were at Morton's house that day? A. Yes, we all remained in the garage.

Q. After this first trip out in the garage did you return to that garage at any other time? A. Yes. Kinney shook hands with me, and he left. He said that I would never see him again, that I would be responsible to these other two

men. They told me to come out on Tuesday nights
13283 for my instructions on the machine.

Q. Did you go out on Tuesday nights thereafter?

A. Yes, and I complained to Ritkes that the machine was too far away from my house, and there was a lot of traffic getting out there and back, about 60 miles. He told me to quit the griping, that there were three other machines and they were farther yet.

Q. You were employed during this time, were you not?

A. Yes.

By MR. STORY: What were you doing? A. I was working out at the Lockheed Aircraft.

Q. How many hours a day were you working? A. I was working eight hours a day.

Q. After you had complained to Ritkes did you go to this garage at Dick Morton's house any other time? A. Yes,

I was there seven or eight times, I think, once a
13284 week.

Q. Did anyone go there with you? A. Irving went with me a couple of times.

Q. Was Dick Morton present on these occasions? A. Yes, he was always home because he left the garage locked.

Q. In addition to this printing press, were there any other supplies in this garage? A. Yes. When I first started taking my instructions there was a large supply of paper in the garage, but Irving Ritkes when I first started going out there had me meet him on San Fernando Road, and we transferred more paper and ink and fluid to clean up the machine, to clean the rolls with. He gave me a form. He wanted to see if I could set up the machine with this form that he made up.

Q. Where did he give you this form that you mentioned?

A. On the San Fernando Road. It was taken from his car and put into my car.

Q. Will you describe to the Panel what this form looked like? A. It was a frame of iron, and in the center all the

print was put in. It was just a practice form. It was just for a beginner to learn how to set up a machine. Then it had the pins around the edges, and blocks to hold the print in this form. It was wrapped up in cardboard about that big (indicating).

13285 Q. What did Ritkes tell you to do with this form after he gave it to you? A. He wanted me to run off some prints and see how I could run the machine. That was after I had had a couple of instructions. He said that after he saw how I could run the machine, if I proved all right, he wanted to have a practice run. He said he wanted to see how long it would take him to make up the form, get it to me, and have me go out and run off the number of leaflets which they would want and get them to the distribution points.

13286 Q. Mr. Scarletto, I hand you a document and ask you if you can identify that document. A. Yes, I can.

Q. What is that document? A. That is a picture of the form which I used.

Q. Are there any initials or is there any identification appearing on the document which causes you to identify it? A. Yes, there are my initials and the date that I got it.

Q. This is a photograph of the form that you were given by Ritkes, is that correct? A. Yes, it is.

Q. How many copies of this form did you print when you took it out to the printing press? A. Oh, I would say I might have printed about 60 or 80. After I got it to working I ran off about 60 or 80. The ones that weren't any good I just threw away.

Q. What did you do with these prints? A. Irving wanted to see them. Some of them I turned over with my reports to the FBI, and the rest I took over and showed them to Irving, and he was very pleased at the progress I had made.

13287 Q. Mr. Scarletto, you have stated that there was a supply of paper in this garage at one time. A. Yes.

Q. Can you give the Panel any indication as to the amount of paper that was stored in the garage?

THE WITNESS: It was on a large box, larger than this table. I would say about one-half times larger than this table, and it was stacked about that high with paper all over the top.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What other material was stored in the garage? A. There was a large can of paste ink which is used in 13288 that type of printing, and cleaning fluid for the machine, and a bunch of clean rags. We always had to have rags.

Q. At Approximately when was the last time you went to the garage at Dick Morton's house? A. I would say about May of '41. I would say, rather around the first part of May or the end of April, somewhere in there I stopped going out.

By MR. STORY:

Q. During the time that you were in the Communist Party underground as you have described it, did you have any association whatsoever with other Communist Party units? A. I was told that I was never—I was told by Irv. Irving told me when we first started in this work that I was severed from the club, of course, and that I was never to be seen in public again at any function. I was never supposed to go out with any leaflets, never to go to meetings, no leaflets, and never to be seen at any picket lines or any mass meetings. I wasn't supposed to associate too much with my former Communist Party friends.

Q. Did you pay Communist Party dues during this time? A. Yes. He told me that I was to go by and pay all my dues and sustainers and drive money which they would be asking for, by quotas—he said I still had to fulfill my quotas—to Mim Schaffer.

13289 Q. Did you pay your dues to Mim Schaffer? A.

I paid my dues, my sustainers, and every time there was a quota or fund raising campaign I had to pay that all to her.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, were you given a security examination at any time in connection with this underground work?

THE WITNESS: Yes. I would say about the second week in May I received a phone call—

MR. ABT: May we have the year?

THE WITNESS: Of 1951. I received a phone call from my contact, Irving, and he said that there would be a man call me up and identify himself as Lou. He said, "He will call you up in a day or so," and I was to get in contact with him.

By MR. STORY: ..

Q. Did this Lou ever contact you? A. Yes. He called me and said, "Hello," and asked me who was talking. I said "Danny." He said, "This is Lou." He said, "I want you to meet me tomorrow night. Drive your car to the Wabash Theater." That is a theater which is close. "In the City Terrace, and park your car there at about a quarter to eight."

Q. Did you meet the man who was to identify himself as Lou at the Wabash Theater? A. Yes, I drove my
13290 car there and I parked and waited, and soon a man walked up to the car and said, "I am Lou."

Q. What took place after he walked up and identified himself as Lou? A. I said, "Who sent you?" He said, "Irv." So I opened the door. The window was rolled down. I said, "Get in." He congratulated me on my being so security conscious.

Q. What did you do after Lou got into your car? A. He told me to drive and he would tell me where to go. He took me about six or seven blocks away up in the hills there and had me park in front of an apartment house.

Q. What did you do after you parked in front of the apartment house? A. He got out of the car and I got out and we walked up the steps and knocked on the door of this apartment on the right. I had never been there before in my life.

Q. What happened after you knocked at the door of the apartment? A. This lady answered the door and he introduced me to her. He said, "I want you to meet Lillian Carlson." In turn she introduced me to her husband, Frank Carlson.

Q. Were there any other people present at Carlson's home when you arrived? A. Yes. There was an elderly woman, who left after I arrived.

13291 Q. After the lady left, then what people were present at Carlson's house? A. There was Lillian Carlson, Frank Carlson—I know him, I had met him before—and this Lou, who later proved to be Lou Barron.

Q. What took place after you were introduced and the elderly lady left the house? A. They told me to come into the kitchen, which was the next step right through the door, first the living room and then the kitchen. They told me to sit at the table. I sat down and they pulled out their papers, whatever they had there, and Lillian Carlson sat at my left, Lou sat across the table from me, and Frank Carlson sat in a chair in the doorway.

Q. Was Frank Carlson in the same room with you? A. He was in the doorway right behind me, about from here to that chair there. He sat in the chair and listened and watched while it went on. I turned around and looked at him several times.

Q. Did Frank Carlson hold any position in the Communist Party in Los Angeles at that time? A. He came to the Marxist Institute one night right after I first started there in late 1949, and he was introduced by the instructor, Gunther Michel, as county organizer. He sat in the back of the room for about an hour or maybe a little shorter,
13292 I would say about three-quarters of an hour, and then he got up and left.

Q. When was the last time you have seen Frank Carlson?
 A. The last time I saw Frank Carlson was at the trial in Los Angeles, California.

Q. Approximately what date was that? A. I would say about February 22, or something like that. I don't remember the date right offhand. He was there every day of the trial, of course, but the last time I saw him was the last day I was there.

Q. That was while you were testifying? A. Yes, while I was testifying.

Q. Was that in February or March? A. I think it was in March.

Q. Approximately how long ago was that? A. Just a couple of weeks ago, two and one-half weeks ago.

Q. After you had gone into the kitchen, what took place next? A. They told me that I had a lot of questions to answer.

Q. Tell the Panel how this group received you and what they asked you and what they did. A. She took out a form, a large form—

Q. By she, whom do you mean? A. That is Lillian Carlson. She and Lou read over questions from this form. They laid another piece of paper alongside the form and 13293 as I answered the questions they filled in the other piece of paper to compare with the questions.

Q. What questions did they ask you, Mr. Scarlétto?

First, how long did this interrogation take? A. Four hours.

Q. Generally tell the Panel what type of questions you were asked. A. They first started off by where I was born, and how old was I, when was I born, of course, and I had to give an account of my parents, where they were born and if they were foreign-born, to which I answered yes. Then I had to give an account of my life from the time I could remember. They wanted to know where I went to school, in what town, what grades, and the name of the principals of the schools, and the names of the teachers if I could remember them. They wanted to know the names of all

my brothers and sisters and what schools they went to. They wanted to know all the jobs I held in my life, what unions I belonged to, what jobs my family was doing at present. I told them that my mother was working in the meat packing industry and my brother was working in the steel industry. They said, "Oh, that is fine, two basic industries."

They wanted to know what unions they belonged to, and they wanted to know what strikes I had ever participated in. They wanted to know when I went into service, what was my position in the service and what branch 13294 of the service I was in. They wanted to know if I knew any FBI agents or any federal employees. They wanted to know if I had any relations who were civil service or federal employees, if I knew any police or FBI men or any government agents of any description. They wanted to know if I knew any Army officers or Naval officers.

Q. Did you know any Army officers or Navy officers?

A. Yes, I have a personal friend who has just retired, who is a Naval Air Admiral, Admiral Perice.

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13295 Q. Mr. Searletto, you were testifying about the security interrogation which you were given by the Party. Who did the interrogation? A. Lillian Carlson and Lou Barron.

Q. Were you asked for the names of other Communist Party members, for references? A. Yes.

Q. What did you tell them? A. First I didn't want to give them the names, but they told me it was all right, so I just told them who my section organizer was and who my chairman was, that was all.

Q. Were you searched during this interrogation? A. They stopped the interrogation at one point and told me to stand up, which I did, and they said, "Put your wallet and everything on your person out on the table." At that point I laid out my wallet and my car keys, my hanker-

13296 chief, and what change I had in my pockets. They said, "Is this all?" And I said, "Yes."

Q. What took place after you put your personal effects on the table? A. Lou Barron picked up my wallet and dumped all its contents out on the table, and he rifled all through my wallet to be sure he didn't miss anything. They both went over every little slip of paper and everything I had in my wallet, in detail. They examined it very closely.

Q. Were you criticized for anything that was found in your wallet?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I was. My chairman had met a member that was in the first club I was ever in, and he wanted to see me and gave her his address, which was his handwriting, and she gave it to me. I put it in my wallet. I was criticized very much for having that.

I also had the home address of Dick Morton. He had no telephone; and I had the telephone number of Irving Ritkes in my wallet. They both criticized me on my breach of security, and said that they were amazed to find that a man of my standing in the Party would have some embarrassing information on him in case he was picked up. They pushed them in front of me and said, "Here, destroy these."

And right in front of them I tore up the phone number 13297 and address of this Party member.

There was a \$20 bill there, and she picked it up and said, "We will just keep this for the Party," and I reached over and took it back. I told them it was my grocery money and it was all I had on me at that time.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Did anything else take place during their search of this wallet? A. That is all I can remember right now.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, you were telling us this morning about instructions that you received prior to attending the section convention back in 1948. A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall at this time any other security regulations that you were required to conform with before going to this convention? A. Yes. I was told to leave my driver's license and whatever identification I had in my wallet, at home.

Q. Did you do that? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Was your wallet checked to make sure that you were carrying out the instructions? A. No, but I carried them out in case it would be checked.

13298 MISS McHALE: While you are on that subject, may I ask a question?

MR. STORY: Yes, Dr. McHale.

MISS McHALE: Was this park in which the meeting was held a city-owned park? Was that State property?

THE WITNESS: It was private property. It is not in the park. It is right across the street from the park. The name of the street is Echo Park.

MISS McHALE: That is why I was confused. I know some of them are city-owned. I was wondering how you went about renting it for this meeting.

THE WITNESS: I don't know how that was done.

MR. DENUNZIO: Echo Park is the name of the street.

MISS McHALE: I understand.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Mr. Scarletto, at the end of this security interrogation that you had at Frank Carlson's house, did you receive any further instructions? A. Yes. She said—

Q. "She"? Who? A. Lillian Carlson. She said that I was supposed to keep in contact with Mim Schaffer and pay her my dues and sustainers, and it was all right for me to tell her that I was interrogated, but I was not supposed to go to any Communist meetings.

13299 She said that my underground contact, Irving Ritkes, would get in touch with me.

Q. Did you see Ritkes at any time after this interrogation?

A. Yes, I saw Ritkes about five or six weeks later. He

called me up and wanted to talk to me, and I went out and met him that evening. He said, "We will meet at the usual place," and I drove down and met him there.

Q. What took place when you met Ritkes on this occasion? Give us the date, also, Mr. Scarletto, the approximate date.

A. I would say it was around the beginning of July.

Q. What year? A. 1951. I told him that Mim Schaffer wanted me to do some work in the IPP, and he told me, he said—

Q. Excuse me. What is the IPP? A. Progressive—let me see. I can't think of it right now.

Q. Would that be the Independent Progressive Party of California? A. Yes.

Q. All right, continue. A. I told him she wanted me to do some work in there, and he told me, he said, "What I told you still goes. You are not supposed to do anything."

He said, "Tell her that you will do it, and to hell 13300 with her. Don't do it."

So then I told him about the interrogation. I said, "Boy, that man Lou you sent over, they sure wrung me out." He said, "You should be proud that the Party takes such precautions." He said everybody in our status had to go through the same thing.

Q. Mr. Scarletto, were you required to re-register in the Communist Party after you first joined the Party?

THE WITNESS: Yes, we had to re-register every year, and they told us if the Party didn't re-register you they would drop you. Every year I received a re-registration.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What took place at these re-registrations? A. I had to go to my section organizer, and it was done in private. She would take me into the bedroom where no one else in the house could hear what was going on, and she had a form from which she would read off the questions. Every year we had more questions. They went into more detail.

Q: When was the last year that you were re-registered in the Party? A: I think it was about November of '51.

Q: Were you required to fill out any forms or any applications or anything of that nature, during these 13301 re-registrations? A: No. She did all the filling out. I just answered the questions which she read from the form.

Q: Mr. Searletto, did you receive any instructions as to what you were to do in the event that you were arrested in connection with Communist Party activities? A: Yes, I did.

Q: Will you tell the Panel who gave you those instructions, and approximately when they were given? A: Mim Schaffer gave us those instructions, and we were told—

MR. ABT: May we have when and where?

By MR. STORY:

Q: When? A: That was at the home of Mim Schaffer. I would say in the middle of 1950. We were told there that in case we were ever picked up by the FBI, we were not supposed to answer any questions. In case we were taken in we were not supposed to talk, and demand to see our lawyer. In case the FBI came to our door, to slam the door in their face and don't talk to them. If they called us on the phone and you didn't know who you were talking to, don't talk.

She also told us that the FBI was calling on different members, saying that they were a collection agency or a credit agency, and were checking up on someone's credit and trying to pump information from Party mem- 13302 bers that way. Just to hang up the phone on all this kind of calls.

We also got a leaflet, one side printed in Spanish and the other side printed in English. They had all these do's and don't's in them.

Q: Where did you receive this leaflet or pamphlet with instructions on what to do? A: At the home of Mim Schaffer, at a Chairmen's meeting.

Q. The Chairmen of what? A. That is of all the clubs in the El Sereno District.

Q. Was this a Communist Party meeting? A. Yes.

Q. Was this pamphlet put out by the Communist Party?

A. IPP. No; CRC; I think it was.

Q. Which was it, can you recall now? A. CRC. That is it.

Q. What is the CRC? A. Civil Rights Congress.

Q. You received one of those leaflets? A. Yes, I
13303 did.

Q. Were you ever picked up or arrested in connection with Communist Party activities? A. No.

Q. What position, if any, did Miss Stoughton have in the Party? A. She was Chairman of the Mexican Concentration Club, and she was also Section Educational Director at that time.

Q. Now, tell us what was said in terms of the Korean war at this meeting? A. Alice Kanamearu—she is of Korean descent, and her husband is Japanese. She came to the meeting that night. She was the Press Director at the time. She said she could no longer handle the Press Director's job of the club because she and her husband, who was about to go into the service, thought it would prove embarrassing to him if she was caught doing any of this kind
13304 of work. Gertrude Stoughton told her; she said,

"You are wrong. We should encourage our husbands to go in the service because in the Russian revolution large numbers of men were encouraged to go over to the Communist side and were assured safe conduct. We should have a plan where we can do that in the American Army, too."

Alice Kanamearu said, "Oh, I didn't look at it that way. Then he would have opportunity for sabotage, too."

Q. What kind of a meeting was this, Mr. Scarletto? A. It was one of our regular unit meetings that we had once a week.

Q. Did Gertrude Stoughton make any other statements at this meeting, that you can recall? A. She said that the same thing was done in the Italian war. She said a lot of Italians were encouraged to desert the Fascist Army and go over to the side of the Allies.

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13305 Q. Did she make any other statements concerning the Korean war? A. She said we should have a plan set up so where our soldiers would be insured safe conduct through the enemy lines.

Q. Through the enemy lines, where? A. In Korea.

Q. This entire discussion was concerning the Korean war which was then going on? A. Yes.

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Q. What was said concerning sabotage at this meeting?

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13306 THE WITNESS: Gertrude Stoughton said she thought it would be a good idea if I went back in the Navy Air Corps, which would give me a good chance for sabotage, and I agreed with her.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What position or what kind of work did you do in the Navy Air Corps? A. I was a mechanic and a gunner.

Q. When you say a mechanic, did you work on motors or parts of planes? A. I worked on the engines, and at one time I had charge of the surface control, all the aircraft controls.

Q. Did Gertrude Stoughton know that? A. Yes, because I had told her about it before.

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13308 Q. Do you remember any other Communist Party
13309 meeting where the Korean war situation was discussed? A. Yes, I remember another one.

Q. Tell us the time of the meetings, where the meeting was held and the statements that were made concerning the Korean war. A. About the first of December, 1950, we had

a meeting at the home of Margaret Todd, of El Sereno, on Mallard Avenue, and that night Gertrude Stoughton, the chairman, said that some of our officers in North Korea were killed in their sleep by their orderlies, who were Koreans, who disappeared after they cut the officers' throats.

After that statement was made, Margaret Todd said, "I love the Commies."

13312 Q. Mr. Scarletto, do you recall an incident where a Communist Party member in Los Angeles by the name of Warwick Tompkins was expelled from the Party?
A. Yes, I recall that incident.

Q. Tell the panel approximately when you first heard of this incident? A. I forget just when I got that letter. I was representing our chairman at a chairmen's meeting that night, and we were given mimeographed copies concerning Warwick Tompkins and his wife, Helen, of the Midtown Section; Los Angeles, announcing that they were expelled from the Party for supporting Anna Louise Strong and trying to get some other Communist members to support her, too.

13313 Q. Did you receive this letter that you have just mentioned, in your official capacity as an official of the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: It was to be taken and read to all clubs. Every member had to know about it so they would have no contact with this man, so they would all know he was a traitor to the Party.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Where did you get this letter or document? A. At a chairmen's meeting.

Q. Were you told what to do with this letter?
13314 A. Yes. I was told to take it to the club and read it

and see that all members got word of it.

Q. Did you read this letter at your club meeting at a later date? A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the Panel the contents of this letter?

MR. ABT: I object on the grounds stated.

MR. BROWN: Objection overruled.

THE WITNESS: It was said that Anna Louise Strong had circulated some slanderous remarks about Russia, and that the United Nations was responsible for the shooting war.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What was said concerning the activities of Tompkins in this letter? A. It was said that he tried to organize some Communist members to support Anna Louise Strong.

Q. Support her in what? A. In her ideals and her distributing of leaflets.

Q. What was the nature of those leaflets? A. It just said slanderous remarks against Russia.

13317 CROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. ABT:

13457 Q. Now, Mr. Witness, you testified here yesterday, did you not, as follows, at page 11265:

13458 By MR. STORY:

"Q. What was said concerning sabotage at this meeting? A. They knew that I was in the Navy Air Corps and they thought it would be a good idea that I should—"

And then I interrupted with an objection, and then you continued:

"Gertrude Stoughton said she thought it would be a good idea if I went back in the Navy Air Corps, which would give me a good chance for sabotage, and I agreed with her."

Did you not so testify? A. Yes.

Q. You also testified with reference to this portion of the conversation in the Los Angeles trial, did you not? A. Yes, I think so.

Q. And is this not all that you said on the subject in Los Angeles, at page 3239:

"Q. What else was there about sabotaging airplanes? You mentioned something about sabotaging airplanes. A. I have done aircraft mechanical work for years, including the three years as an aircraft mechanic in the Navy Air Corps, and I said, 'I really could keep a lot of planes on the ground that should be in the air.' They just really congratulated me on that."

13459 Were you asked that question, and did you make that answer? A. Yes.

Q. Now, you testified, did you not, a few moments ago here, that you reported this conversation to the FBI in the same way that you testified to it in Los Angeles? Didn't you so testify a few moments ago? A. Yes.

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman, we now move that the Panel direct the petitioner in this proceeding to produce here this witness' report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in which he says that he reported the conversation which occurred at Gertrude Stoughton's house in September or October 1950.

13461 MR. BROWN: The motion is denied.

13601 Timothy Evans, Jr. was called as a witness by and on behalf of the petitioner, and having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. STORY:

13605 Q. Did you receive a membership card in the Communist Party after you joined? A. No, I joined the Party after the 1948 registration and I didn't receive a card for 1948.

Q. Did you receive a membership card in 1949? A. No. Prior to the registration in 19—

13606 Q. Were you told why you did not receive a Communist Party card in 1949?

THE WITNESS: Yes, we were told why we did not receive cards for 1949, membership cards for 1949.

THE WITNESS: The place was Nora Lafferty's. That was the place. The time was in the late fall of 1948. That
13607 takes care of the time and place. And she said thusly. That there would be no cards issued for 1949 because of security reasons.

Q. Did Nora Lafferty hold a position in the Communist Party at the time she made this statement in late 1948? A. Yes.

Q. What position did she hold? A. She was Chairman of the Harriet Tubman Club.

Q. How long did you continue as a member of the Harriet Tubman Club, Mr. Evans? A. I was a member of the Harriet Tubman Club until the club was divided into groups—I mean into squads—in 1948.

Q. How many squads were formed out of the Harriet Tubman Club? A. The club was broken into two squads.

Q. Were you told by any official in the Communist Party when this action was being taken? A. Yes, I was.

Q. What were you told and who told you?

13608 THE WITNESS: I was told—at a meeting we were told that the Harriet Tubman Club would be divided into squads, and that each squad would have its group leader and that this group leader would have full authority over the squads. He would take care of the collection of dues and

of sustainers, and because of security reasons no new membership cards would be issued for 1949, and if there were still existing old cards should be collected and destroyed, preferably burned.

We were also told that a new code system would be worked out whereby a record for keeping dues and sustainers would be kept by numbers instead of names. At that particular meeting, the club was divided into squads.

Q. Mr. Evans, would you tell the Panel the person making this statement? A. Nora Lafferty made the statement.

Q. And did she hold a position at the time she 13609 made that statement?

THE WITNESS: She did hold a position. She was chairman of the club.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Were these squads that were formed out of the Harriet Tubman Club numbered or given names?

Q. Were you assigned to one of these squads? A. Yes, I was. I was assigned to Nora Lafferty's squad.

Q. How long did you remain a member of Nora Lafferty's squad? A. A short time after the club was broken into squads, the section leadership became alarmed at the inactivity of the squads and soon the original membership of the club started meeting together again.

13610 Q. Mr. Evans, after the Harriet Tubman Club had gone back together again, how long did you remain a member of this club? A. I was a member of the Harriet Tubman Club until another reorganization took place in the summer of 1950.

Q. Did you hold any position in the Harriet Tubman Club at any time? A. Yes. Shortly after ~~we~~ went back together, I was made a club chairman.

Q. You mentioned another reorganization in the summer of 1950. Where did you first hear of this reorganization which you state took place in the summer of 1950?

THE WITNESS: In July 1950 at 717 Franklin Street, Oakland.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Was this at a Communist Party meeting or what kind of meeting was it?

13611 THE WITNESS: It was a Communist Party meeting of the West Oakland section.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Tell the Panel what took place at this meeting. A. Ray Thompson, a section official, told the members at this meeting that the world situation had created quite a bit of alarm in the Party, and for that reason the Party was adopting stricter security measures, that the clubs would be divided into smaller groups, and that each group would consist of no more than five people, and that these five people in each group were not to know who the members of the other group was, and that the leader of each group would be the sole contact between the section and his group.

13612 Q. Had you finished your testimony concerning what happened at this meeting? A. No, not quite. I think I left off where the group leader of each group would be the sole contact between his group and the section, and that the group leader should be a trusted comrade, and that strict security measures and screening processes would be adopted in order to root out unreliable comrades.

Q. After this meeting, did this reorganization actually take place in the Communist Party? A. Yes. Shortly after the meeting the reorganization did take place, and the clubs were divided into groups.

Q. Were you assigned to one of these groups? A. Yes, I was.

Q. What was the name of your group? A. The groups carried numbers instead of names. The number of my group was group No. 4.

13613 Q. Mr. Evans, did any other reorganization take place in your Communist Party clubs at any time during your membership? A. After the clubs were divided into groups, another reorganization did take place in the Party.

Q. When did that reorganization take place? A. We had a Party reorganization shortly after 1950 at a meeting of the West Oakland section. Billy Wachter, county education director, told us that the county office of Alameda County would be dissolved and the two counties,

13614 Alameda and Contra Costa County would be merged to form a regional, and this regional would be directly under the state office.

13615 Q. Mr. Evans, you mentioned a Billy Wachter.

13616 Did he hold a position in the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: Yes, she held a position.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What position did she hold? A. She was county educational director of Alameda County.

Q. Was this at an official Communist Party meeting where Wachter gave this statement? A. It was.

Q. Mr. Evans, how long did you continue as a member of a group which was formed out of the reorganization in the

summer of 1950? A. I continued to be a member of this group until another reorganization took place in early 1951.

Q. Do you recall when in 1951 the other reorganization took place? A. It was, I think, around January of 1951.

Q. Where did you first hear of this reorganization which took place in early 1951? A. I first heard it at the West Oakland section convention.

Q. When was that held? A. It was in December of 1950.

Q. Where was it held? A. It was held at the home of Emma Stanley, 840 Delaware Street, Berkeley, California.

Q. Now, tell the Panel what was said at this convention concerning the reorganization which took place in early 1951.

THE WITNESS: At the convention of the West Oakland section in 1950, the Chairman told us that the club, the groups weren't operating efficiently and that security measures weren't being followed, and that the groups would be redivided in order to place active members in each group. He said that each group should have a representative number of Negro and white comrades, it should have a representative number of male and female, there should be at least one industrial worker in each group, and also that after the groups are formed, each member of the group should be given a marked organization to work in outside of his regular Party activity.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Were you given any instructions concerning the security measures to be followed once this reorganization took place?

13618 THE WITNESS: Under this new organization, the groups were not to tell the time nor the place of the meetings, and all contact—the group leader was to contact all of his members concerning the place and the date of the

meeting, and the telephone as an instrument of conveying messages was banned for Party use. Also that they should continue the use of the number system for keeping of records of dues and sustainers, and the use of last names should be also banned, and there should be no intercommunication between groups.

Q. Mr. Evans, you mentioned the number system. What do you mean by the number system in keeping of records of dues and contributions?

THE WITNESS: This method of number system or alphabetical system was a system that could be devised by any group that would not reveal the identity of the person so stipulated on the card, but the group could understand who it was, and it was just for a method of keeping records so that if the card was lost, nobody could trace that particular person as being the one who paid those dues.

Q. Did this reorganization that was discussed in the latter part of 1950 actually take place? A. Yes, it did.

Q. What unit were you assigned to after the reorganization? A. After the reorganization, I was assigned to one of the groups.

Q. Did you hold any position in this group? A. I was the group leader.

Q. Did you hold any other position in the Communist Party in addition to being group leader? A. Yes. I was educational director for the West Oakland section.

MR. ABT: May we have a time, Mr. Chairman?

THE WITNESS: 1951.

MR. FORER: That was the West Oakland section?

THE WITNESS: Yes, West Oakland section.

By MR. STORY:

Q. When in 1951 did this reorganization take place? A. The reorganization took place a short time after the con-

vention. It took place in either the latter part of 13620 January or the early part of February.

Q. How long did you continue as the educational director for the West Oakland section? A. I was educational director from the early part of 1951 until the fall of 1951.

Q. Mr. Evans, did you attend any conventions during the time you were a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I attended three conventions during my membership.

Q. What conventions did you attend, and when were they held? A. I attended the West Oakland section convention of the Communist Party in 1948.

Q. And when in 1948, Mr. Evans? A. It was in the late fall of 1948. I attended the West Oakland section convention in December 1950, and I attended the regional convention in January of 1951.

Q. Where was this first convention that you attended in the fall of 1948 held? A. It was held at the home of Nora Lafferty.

Q. Where was Nora Lafferty's home? A. In Oakland.

Q. How many delegates attended this convention? A. Approximately 50 delegates.

Q. Were any steps taken by the Communist Party 13621 to conceal the activities of this convention?

THE WITNESS: No steps were taken by the Party to conceal this convention.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Where was the second convention held that you attended? A. The second convention was held at Emma Stanley's house, 840 Delaware Street, Berkeley, California.

Q. How many delegates were at the second convention, Mr. Evans? A. Between 15 and 20 delegates.

Q. Were any steps taken to conceal the second convention that you attended from the general public?

THE WITNESS: The second convention as well as all the events that led up to it were surrounded by a thick cloud of secrecy.

13622 Q. Will you tell us what measures were taken to conceal this convention?

THE WITNESS: On the morning of the convention we were told to assemble at the home of Mary Green. All the delegates were told that.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Was that in Oakland? A. That was in Oakland, yes. After we had assembled, there, the delegates were divided into groups of three, and we were told to use as few cars as possible. The place where the convention was to be held was not told to the entire group, but was told only to the driver of each group. We were told on leaving Mary Green's house to leave in a casual manner, and when we arrived at the place of the convention, to park at least two blocks from its location.

13623 Q. Who gave you these instructions? A. The Chairman of the West Oakland section.

Q. What was the name of the chairman? A. Roscoe Proctor.

Q. Did you go to Mary Green's house on the day you were instructed to go there? A. I did.

13624 Q. Mr. Evans, you were testifying about the convention you attended in December 1950. I think when the noon recess was called, you were discussing the delegates that had collected at Mary Green's house; after you left Mary Green's house, approximately what time did you arrive at the convention hall? A. We arrived there between 9 and 9:30 in the morning.

Q. How long did this convention last? A. The convention lasted until about 9 o'clock that night.

Q. Where did the delegates have lunch on that day? A. We were told to bring our lunch because nobody would be permitted to leave the place of the convention.

Q. Did you observe any delegates leaving the convention during the first day of the convention? A. I observed, but no one left the convention hall.

13625 Q. What took place at this convention? A. We reviewed our work for the past two years and we placed a lot of emphasis on strict security measures—

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THE WITNESS: And a discussion of security measures to protect the various comrades in the performance of their duty. It was also at this convention that we discussed the peace campaign and the relationship of the Party to the press. That was the PW newspaper. And we discussed the reorganization program which took place in the groups in 1951.

By MR. STORY:

Q. After this convention was over, how did the delegates leave the convention hall? A. At the conclusion of the convention, the chairman directed how the delegates would leave. They came in threes with a specific driver, so he would tell the driver when he could take his group and leave. So as he would call the driver, the people who came with him would leave. And he would always give each driver a chance to reach his automobile and leave before he would call the next driver. I would say at about five minute
13626 intervals.

Q. Now, Mr. Evans, you have testified that you also attended a regional convention of the Communist Party. When was this regional convention held? A. The regional convention was held in January of 1951.

Q. Did you attend this convention as a delegate? A. Yes, I did.

Q. How were you selected to attend this convention? A. At the West Oakland section convention, we elected delegates to attend the regional convention, and I was elected as one of the delegates at the West Oakland section to go to this particular convention.

Q. Where was the regional convention held?— A. The regional—state the question again.

Q. Where was the regional convention held? A. The regional convention was held at Eastgate Lodge, 3138 Grove Street, in Berkeley.

Q. About how many delegates attended this convention? A. We had between 30 and 40 delegates in attendance.

Q. How were you directed to this convention, Mr. Evans? A. On the Saturday before the convention was to convene, we were directed to meet at Mary Green's house, and upon arriving there we were told that we would be directed to the convention hall.

Q. Did you go to Mary Green's house? A. I went there as instructed to do so.

13627 Q. What happened after you arrived at Mary Green's house? A. Upon arriving at Mary Green's house, she told me that I was to drive the delegates to the convention, that is, the delegates from the West Oakland section. She said, or she gave me the address and told me to drive the delegates to 3116 Grove Street.

Q. How many delegates were selected from the West Oakland section? A. Approximately five. It was five of us I think, four regular and one alternate delegate.

Q. What happened after you arrived at 3116 Grove Street? A. When we got to 3116 Grove Street, we were met by West Bodkin, who then directed us to the convention hall.

Q. Did Bodkin hold a position in the Communist Party at that time? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What position did he hold? A. Bodkin was county organizational secretary.

Q. What time did you arrive at the convention hall? A. We arrived there between 9:30 and 10 o'clock.

Q. How long did you remain at the convention hall? A. We stayed there until about 6 o'clock that evening.

13628 Again we were told to bring lunch as no one would be permitted to leave the convention.

Q. What took place at this convention? A. We had our usual round of speeches by different people. Mickey Lima made a speech for the necessity of recruiting more people in to the Party, as insurance of our own safety. He mentioned that this was one of the best security measures that we could follow, that is, to align ourselves with more people. He also mentioned the necessity for mass concentration, especially in other well organized groups, so if the Party was attacked, or if individuals in the party were attacked, at least they would have friends in other organizations. He spoke on a peace program and the war in Korea.

A fellow by the name of Paul Schlippe made a talk on industrial concentration and necessity of infiltrating the different unions, especially the key unions. Another fellow by the name of Matt Crawford made a speech on the necessity for the establishment of a Negro nation in the South.

Q. Mr. Evans, you mentioned Mickey Lima. Did he hold a position in the Communist Party at the time you appeared in this convention? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What position did he hold? A. Mickey Lima
13629 was the chairman of the East Bay region of the Communist Party.

Q. When was the last time you saw Mickey Lima? A. The last time I saw Mr. Mickey Lima was in the Los Angeles trial.

Q. Mr. Evans, how did the delegates leave the convention hall at the end of the day? A. At the end of the day the delegates were called according to sections that they came from and as the different sections would be called, they would leave. The drivers of the cars and the different sections would leave. We were told to leave in a carefree manner, don't go direct to your car, but kind of browse around

before you leave, and not to take a direct route home.

Q. Was this convention completed in one day? A. No, the convention continued the following day.

Q. Where was the convention held on the second day?

A. The convention the second day took place at 2002 San Pablo Avenue, El Sereno, California.

13630 Q: How were you directed to the convention hall the second day? A. On the second day we followed the same procedure as we followed the first day, by going to Mary Green's house with the exception that we also picked up Roscoe Proctor at another address, and he directed us to the convention. This time we were told not to take a direct route but to drive more or less casually around and then go to the convention place.

Q. Did you drive your automobile the second day? A. I did.

Q. What took place at the convention on the second day?

A. We had more of the same speeches on industrial concentration, on the peace campaign, on world conditions and war, on stricter security measures, and on mass concentration.

Q. How long did the convention last on the second day?

A. The convention concluded around six o'clock that evening also.

Q. How did the delegates leave the convention hall on the second day. A. The general procedure that was fol-

13631 lowed the first day was followed the second day. The only difference being that on the second day there was a back exit for us to take and we took the back exit and walked around the block to reach our automobiles.

Q. Mr. Evans, did you attend any Communist Party schools during your membership in the Party? A. Yes.

Q. When was the first school and what was the first school you attended? A. The first classes I attended was in the Harriet Tubman Club. We had ten or twelve classes for beginning students.

Q. Do you recall what textbooks were used in these classes?

THE WITNESS: The primary textbook used in this particular course was a booklet entitled, "Theory and Practice of the Communist Party."

By MR. STORY:

Q. Now, Mr. Evans, did you attend any other schools while you were a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. What school did you attend? A. I went to the
13632 Marxist-Leninist Institute, which lasted for a year, from about April of 1949 to June of 1950.

Q. Was this a full time school? A. No. It met only once a week and at night, and it would last usually for about three hours.

Q. Where were these classes held? A. The classes were held in various sections of Oakland.

Q. How many students were enrolled in this school?

13633 THE WITNESS: We had two sections of about 30 students in each section.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Did you enroll in this school under your own name? A. No. We were enrolled according to numbers. The number that I used was 72.

Q. What classes were taught in the Marxist Institute? A. We had four main classes, and the classes were political economy I and political economy II, Marxist-Leninism I, Marxist-Leninism II.

Q. Mr. Evans, were any steps taken by the school authorities to conceal the existence of this school?

MR. STORY: The student attended the Marxist-Leninist Institute. He should know whether there were any steps taken to conceal the existence of the school from the general public.

13634 THE WITNESS: There were attempts to conceal the identity of the school. We were told not to discuss the school with anyone, not to discuss the place or the date of its meeting, not to discuss the contents that went on in the school, I mean the subject matter, and after each class, we were told to pick up all scraps of paper that might contain written matter and to destroy it.

Q. Did you use any textbooks at the Marxist Institute?
A. We had a large outline that we used as a study guide and in this large outline it made references to some of the Marxist classics and those—

13635 Q. Mr. Evans, I hand you a document which has been marked for identification as Government Exhibit 427, and ask you if you can identify this document.
A. Yes, this is one of the outlines we used in the school.

13639 Q. Mr. Evans, do you know of your own knowledge any plans devised by the Communist Party for underground activity in the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: I do know of plans that we made at—

13640 Q. What plans were made concerning the underground activity of the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: At a West Oakland section meeting in June of 1950, we were told that the groups should equip

13641 themselves with a mimeograph machine and with paper, stencils and ink, so that in the event the Party is forced underground that these small groups that are segments of the main body could carry on their work independent of the county office, in the event the office is closed down.

13642 Q. Do you recall the name of the person who gave you the instructions at this West Oakland section meeting? A. Yes, the name of the person was Ray Thompson.

Q. Did he hold any position in the Communist Party at the time he gave this information? A. He did.

Q. What was that position? A. He was an organizer. He was sent into the West Oakland section to bolster up the section.

Q. Did you have any position in the Communist Party at the time you received these instructions? A. Yes, I was leader of a group. I was chairman of a group.

13643 Q. Was anything done within your group to carry out these instructions?

THE WITNESS: My group purchased a used mimeograph machine, paper, stencils and ink as required by the section to do.

By MR. STORY:

Q. What did you do with this material after you purchased it? A. I stored it in my apartment.

Q. Where is that equipment now? A. The equipment is still in my apartment.

Q. Mr. Evans, do you know of any other plans made by the Communist Party concerning underground activity?

13644 THE WITNESS: In the late summer of 1951, I was contacted by Roscoe Proctor, the chairman of the West Oakland section, and told that the reorganization of the clubs which will take place the following fall that I was not supposed to accept any group or section position, that I was being considered for underground assignment, and that I would have to go through a careful screening process before I could get the job.

Q. Were you screened by the Party in preparation for this assignment, Mr. Evans?

THE WITNESS: I was.

By MR. STORY:

Q. When were you screened? A. It was in the late, late summer, near August.

Q. Of what year? A. Of 1951.

Q. Tell the Panel what happened, who contacted you and where you were contacted.

13645 THE WITNESS: At this time I was contacted by a man named Morris Keller, who was a member of the Security Commission, which controlled the West Oakland section.

THE WITNESS: This fellow got in contact with me and told me that he wanted to see me, and after I went to see him, he took me to a room and said that he had to give me a screening for a new job that was coming up for me. He handed me a questionnaire and proceeded to have me to answer the questions from the form that he had given me.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Were you interrogated at any time during this screening? A. Yes, after filling out the questions, you know, then

he asked me some questions openly.

13646 Q. Do you recall what subjects were covered during this screening? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Tell the Panel what subjects were covered.

THE WITNESS: In the questionnaire itself, questions were asked about your family background, how old you were, how much education you had, the jobs that you had held chronologically right along, different places you worked, asked your union affiliation, your religious affiliation, also asked the background of your parents, whether they were foreign or native born, or how old they were, where they worked, where they are living now, the address, the address and age of your sisters and brothers. I also was asked how long I had been in the Party, the number of books I had read, the schools I had attended. I was asked whether or not I still agreed with the Party's position, and whether or not I thought the future of the Party's position would be imperiled by events happening now. I was also asked whether or not I had associated with factionalists, and whether or not I had ever been arrested or had any type of criminal record, other than a traffic violation. I was asked whether I had ever been contacted by the FBI.

13647 or other agent for misdemeanor or any government violations.

I also was questioned about my wife's family, her background and religion, et cetera.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Are you finished? A. Yes.

Q. How long did this screening process take? A. This process took from between two and three hours.

Q. After you were screened by the Party, did you hear anything more about your underground assignment? A. A few weeks after this screening process, I was again contacted by Roscoe Proctor who told me that I would be contacted by another man who would use the name of Terry

Rose, and that this fellow would give me further instructions according to my underground activities.

Q. Approximately when did Roscoe Proctor contact you?

A. It was the early fall of 1951.

Q. Did Proctor tell you anything about the type of assignment you were to receive? A. Yes. He told me that the job would consist in the main of acting as a courier between the section and the county.

Q. Were you ever contacted by this man who was to identify himself as Terry Rose? A. No, I was never contacted by Terry Rose.

Q. Did you ever hear anything further concerning your underground assignment? A. Yes. About a week before I testified in Los Angeles, I was again contacted by Roscoe Proctor, and he told me that the job was still in the hopper, and that this fellow was still going to contact me.

Q. You have not heard anything further? A. I think the testimony in Los Angeles probably took care of that.

Q. Mr. Evans, were you given any instructions while you were in the Communist Party as to what you were to do in the event you were arrested in connection with Communist Party activities?

Q. What were you told? A. I was told on several occasions by different officials that in the event that you were arrested while performing Party activities to stand on your constitutional rights and don't answer any questions, don't give your name, and to demand that you be allowed to talk to a lawyer, and to get in touch with one of the Civil Rights Congress lawyers.

13649 We were also given a small card explaining what to do in case you were arrested.

Q. Mr. Evans, I hand you a document which has been marked for identification as Government Exhibit 428, and ask you if you can identify that document. A. This is the same as the card that was given to us.

Q. Where did you receive this card? A. It was given to me at the meeting of the Harriet Tubman Club.

MR. ABT: May we have the date, Mr. Story?

THE WITNESS: Shortly after my coming into the Party. I would say it was given in the spring of 1948 by Nora Lafferty.

By MR. STORY:

13654 Q. Mr. Evans, were you taught anything concerning the allegiance owed by a member of the Communist Party to the Government of the United States during your membership in the Party?

THE WITNESS: We were taught about just and unjust wars in the Marxist Institute.

Q. What were you taught about just and unjust wars in the Marxist Institute? A. We were taught that a just war is not a war of conquest, that it was waged to free people from oppression and enslavement, and that a just war is waged sometimes to free colonies from capitalist oppression. We were also taught that an unjust war is a war of oppression, designed to enslave people and that this
 13655 war of oppression could only be waged by a capitalistic country, because in doing so they seek to enslave other countries in order to create a market for their products. We were taught that the Soviet Union could never wage an unjust war because by the very nature of itself, the Soviet Union is geared for production of its own people, and they don't seek outside markets for an outlet for their products. Therefore, on that basis, only a capitalistic country could wage an unjust war, and also that it was our duty as Communists to fight against anyone who would wage an unjust war, and to try to bring it to a successful conclusion.

13656. MR. BROWN: Mr. Evans, were you taught anything at the Marxist Institute as to what action the Communist Party or the members thereof would take in the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the United States?

THE WITNESS: We were taught that we are supposed to support any country who is engaged in a just war, and oppose any country who is waging an unjust war. We were taught that the Soviet Union could never engage or never start an unjust war, that they could only start a just war, and we were supposed to support anyone who started or anyone who was the recipient or started a just war, and oppose an unjust war. We were told that the United States could never start a just war, by the very nature that they are a capitalistic country, and could only start an unjust war. And we were supposed to oppose this unjust war and support the just war.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Were you told by any of your Communist Party superiors at any time what category the Korean war falls in?

13657 THE WITNESS: I mean it more or less destroyed the thought I intended to convey because of the question. The question was, was I told what category the Korean war fell in, is that correct?

MR. BROWN: Yes.

THE WITNESS: We were told that the Korean war did represent a free nation being aggressed upon. In this case the North Koreans and the Chinese forces represented the forces of liberation, and that the United States, and her allies, and whoever she could draw into it, represented the aggressors, and therefore they were waging an unjust war, against the North Korean and Chinese people.

By MR. STORY:

Q. Who made that statement, Mr. Evans? A. Rosecoe Proctor, at the section educational meeting.

Q. Approximately when was that made? A. Around the fall of 1950.

3659

CROSS EXAMINATION

13745 THE WITNESS: This is the explanation I would like to give to the question in reference to the yes or no answers concerning the Party's fight for the rights of Negroes. It can be characterized in the general term of the Party's fight for the rights of Negroes. The question asked me by the gentleman over there was, did they not actively participate in a struggle to save the life of Willy Magee. On the surface that would appear to be correct, that they did sponsor a program which would seem to carry on a projection that would induce a person to believe that the Party was extremely interested in saving the life of one man, Willy Magee, who happened to be a victim of oppression in the South. But a further study of Communist tactics and of Communist strategy will refute this to the point where, if you gave a "yes" answer to such a question you might give an incorrect one, because the Party's position in the fight for the Negroes is not focused upon one individual, to help relieve the situation of that one individual alone. The Party's program and its final destiny is socialism. It is their main strategy which any Party member will attest to and say so. So the fight to save Willy Magee was really a struggle to rally Negroes around the cause and to
13746 further publicize the party.

I know one eminent person spoke and said the Party is not interested in Negro rights from the humanitarian standpoint. They are not interested in Negro rights as rights to save the Negro alone. The Party feels that in elevating the standard of Negroes, in giving this false projection to the Negro, making them feel that they want to

reform a government such as there is to accept the Negro as a full citizen, is erroneous. The Party does not have that projection in view. They want to raise the level of the Negro and raise his understanding so he can be a useful means of helping them obtain the final victory, which is socialism.

So if you ask me the question whether the Communist Party actively fought to save the life of Willy Magee, I don't think I can say correctly that it was their main objective, that that was their main fight. I can say that they actively participated in the campaign because there are circles who believe that the Communist Party was most detrimental in the struggle, that it was the Communist Party which actually sealed the doom of Willy Magee, and the people who have struggled, like the NAACP for the Negro rights for years, will have no part side by side with the Communist Party, because they felt they did more harm than good. For me to sit here and say that they actively participated in a program to save the man's life, to give a yes answer to it I 13747 feel it would be an injustice to the cause that they really represent.

By MR. FORER:

13764 Q. Yes. You were also taught, were you not, that if despite all efforts to keep peace a war did break out between the United States and the Soviet Union that it would be the duty of Communists to cooperate with all democratic forces to bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace and thus defeat the predatory war aims of imperialism. Were you not taught that? A. I think that is correct.

13787 Louis Francis Budenz called as a witness on behalf of Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. PAISLEY:

13794 Q. Have you been a member of the Communist Party of the United States? A. Yes, sir, I have been.

Q. When did you become a member? A. I became a member in August 1935, but became an open member in October 1935.

Q. What is the difference between a member and an open member? A. Well, from August to October I was a concealed member, that is to say, I did not announce that I was a member of the Communist Party, nor did I act publicly as a Communist.

13795 Q. Prior to the time that you joined the party had you been acquainted with any party leaders? A. Yes, I knew several of them—Jack Stachel, Clarence Hathaway, and Carl Winter, Israel Amter, and a number of others.

Q. How did you happen to come in contact with them? A. In connection with various united front movements and in connection with the unemployed movements.

Q. What had been your work just before you joined the Party? A. I had been connected with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which was called the Musteiters; that is, it was an organization which was out organizing unemployed and in that connection we worked with the Communists.

Q. Did you have occasion, Mr. Budenz, to discuss the possibilities of your becoming a member with any of these people before you joined?

* * * * *

13796 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir, I discussed membership in the Communist Party, and as a result of that I applied for membership in August 1935.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. With whom did you discuss it? A. I discussed it with a number of people prior to joining, and then I went to Clarence Hathaway, who was head of the Daily Worker, and he accepted my application, signed it, and told me I had been accepted, but that I would have to wait as far as my open membership was concerned.

Q. Why? Did he tell you why you would have to wait?
 A. I would have to wait until Jack Stachel and Earl Browder returned from the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. Then they would decide or a decision would be made, at any rate, with them participating, as to whether I should be an open or concealed member from there on.

Q. When they came back did you discuss the matter with them? A. First I discussed it with Stachel, who came back first.

Q. Do you recall the conversation, the substance
 13797 of it? A. Yes, he told me that I should wait until Browder got back so far as my membership was concerned, and mentioned the fact that a large delegation of American Communist Party representatives had been present at the Seventh World Congress.

Q. What did Stachel say, if anything, about
 13798 whether or not you would be a concealed member or an open member? I believe you said he said to wait until Browder came back. A. That is correct.

Q. Where was the conversation? A. That was on the Ninth Floor of the Communist-owned building there at 35 East 12th Street or 50 East 13th Street. The building runs between 12th and 13th streets.

Q. At that time had you actually gone to work with the Daily Worker? A. No, sir. I didn't go to work for the Daily Worker until October.

Q. Did you have a second conversation with Stachel about it? A. Yes, sir, one with Mr. Browder present.

Q. What were the circumstances and what was said? A. There the discussion was in regard to open or concealed membership, and it was decided that I should become an open member.

Q. Who decided that? A. Browder did, after consultation with other Communists.

Q. You then became a member, did you? A. Yes, sir. In October—that is, I think, October 2, 1935, it was announced in the Daily Worker that I had become a member of the Communist Party. There was a statement of that.

13799 Q. Did you make a public statement? A. Yes, sir. I made a public statement at Jack Stachel's suggestion.

Q. Was it printed in the Daily Worker? A. Yes, sir.

Q. I have just shown you, Mr. Budenz, a photostat of what appears to be the Daily Worker, a photostat of which Daily Worker has been marked Petitioner's Exhibit 429 for identification. I call your attention to page 2 there: Do you recognize your picture? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the statement that was published at the time? A. That was the statement which I prepared and submitted to Stachel and it was published as a result.

Q. Do you remember any conversation with Stachel about the statement? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you tell the Panel what he said? A. He stated that it was good enough, that it would be printed as I wrote it, but that I had not emphasized sufficiently Stalin's position of leadership in the International Communist movement, as the guide of the movement.

13800 Q. Did he call your attention at that time to any other document or article? A. Yes, sir. In that connection he called my attention to the resolution of loyalty to Stalin adopted at the Seventh World Congress by the representatives of the 65 parties there.

Q. In what form or shape was this resolution? Do you remember? A. He had a printed copy and had me read it. My impression is it was from the International Press Correspondence, but at least it was a printed copy.

Q. What is the International Press Correspondence? A. That was the reportorial system of the Communist International, sending out news to the Communists of the world on the happenings in the International Communist move-